2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

DIVORCE

A couple who could not get along together, generally brought their case to the Keeper of the Meeting or, later, the governor. He tried to reconcile them until the affair recurred so often that he sanctioned their separation. Where the whipping post was in use, the person whom the Keeper considered responsible for the difference was whipped, the other party naming the number of strokes. 586

The woman went back to her family taking the small children (1), or the daughters (26). She left her baskets and everything she had made, though it was proper to take one basket of provisions. If the husband decided he wanted her back, he must again get the Keeper of the Meeting as mediator and might have to stand a whipping before she would return. The woman might change her mind and go back to her husband by the same means. Both immediately married again, unless the husband already had wives enough. The wife might look around and find a man for herself, but if she did not, the family would soon dispose of her, since an adult unmarried woman in a house was an abnormality.

The most usual cause for divorce was bad temper and next was the fact that the spouse had gone off with someone else. Laziness was not so often fatal. A man would bring in another wife: a woman would complain to her family and the Keeper, but would not leave her husband except for further cause.

A few accounts of marriages follow: 581 • 586

"Angelita's husband was a shaman who married four sisters. He was old when he took the youngest, but being a shaman, he knew how to make her love him." (26)

"A man had two wives, each of whom slept in a separate enclosure. One night he came out of the enclosure of the second wife and went to that of the first. She threw dirt at him and berated him for going to the other woman. The other ran out and began to scold. This mother-in-law said to the man, 'Don't put a hand on them. It's your own fault. You wanted them.' So the women pulled each other's hair and knocked each other down. But they kept on with the man. They never left. They were not sisters." (26)

"A woman I know married several different men but each one had a wife already. She was always fighting with these co-wives and each of the husbands finally left her. She never had the sense to take a single man." (26)

"Crooked Lightning left his wife. She was lazy and mean, but he never scolded her. He simply left. Crooked Lightning's sister was married to one of his friends so when that friend heard he was free, he gave him his niece to make them closer." (26)

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

581 586 "A playful woman had married three or four men but had left them all. She was at a drinking ceremony and danced all night with a chief who was tall and liked to dance, but he was old. She could not see that at night. In the morning he put her on the horse with him to go home. She said, "Where do you live?' 'At the place of the Dead Dog.' 'Oh, that's too far.' So she jumped off the horse and left him. She had seen by the rising sun that he was old." (26)

"The chief of our village is so old that he is blind and deaf. He has lived all his life with one wife. They never quarrel. That is true of many of our people." (26)

THE BERDACHE

838 The male transvestite was a common figure. It is comprehensible that a man who balked at the rigors of war and hunting should accept woman's clothing as an alternative entirely without opprobrium. But the berdache was said to have been discovered in early childhood. If the parents found that a boy liked female pursuits they tested him. The regular pattern, mentioned by many informants, was to build a small enclosure and place in it bow and arrows and basketry materials. Thechild was told to go in and play and then the parents set fire to the enclosure. They watched what he took with him as he ran out and if it was the basketry materials, they reconciled themselves to his being a berdache.

The berdache performed women's work. He made one of the group of women on food gathering expeditions and was treated as one of themselves. He was often a clever potter and basket maker and an asset on food gathering expeditions, because he "didn't get tired as we did". He also played an important rôle in the village.

[727] When the Apache trophy was hung up, if there was a berdache in the village, he might dance around it with a bow taunting it: "See what you are reduced to! The men will not look at you, but I, even I, can shoot you" (27).

[588] The berdache might marry, but often, since he was entirely able to work and support himself, he lived alone and was visited by the men. To each visitor he gave an obscene nickname and the men were very proud of these, since they were often bolder than those bestowed by women. No scorn was felt for the berdache. He was respected and liked by the women and his sex life with the men was a community institution.

One informant thus described her berdache brother-in-law:

"We girls used to spend all day with that man-woman, Shining Evening. She went off with us to gather plants and she could carry more than any of us and dig longer. She ground corn with us, all

4: Joseph et al . D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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551 the important names are still the kinship terms, and the nicknames which are a source of amusement and gossip for everyone.

MARRIAGE

581 Marriage is the normal adult state among the Papago. In the old days there were few bachelors and almost no unmarried women. Today there are more single adults, but they are a very small proportion of the tribe, and spinsters are looked upon as something of a curiosity. Girls may marry at fourteen and boys at sixteen, but the usual ages seem to be between sixteen and eighteen for girls and between eighteen and twenty for boys.

582 584 According to the old custom—practiced in a few cases as recently as ten years ago—marriages were arranged by the families of the bride and groom, usually without consulting the young people concerned. Nowadays young Papago almost without exception select their own mates and consult their parents later. Usually, however, the parent's wishes are followed, although a few young people have braved family disapproval to marry whom they pleased.

582 Apparently the chief prerequisite for marriage is that the young couple be unrelated, a restriction strengthened by the ban laid by the Roman Catholic church on marriage within the third degree of relationship. In recent years there have been several cases of marriage between first cousins without more stringent penalties than adverse gossip, but one such couple in the conservative [684] Hickiwan District were ostracized by both their families, who said that they were "living like dogs."

Because of this general restriction against marriage between close relatives, young people customarily used to marry outside their own communities where nearly everyone was related. In the larger villages, where new blood has come in and therefore relationships are not so close, many young people who are neighbors marry.

Whatever their birthplace, some Papago say that the bride and groom used to belong to the same dialect group. This was less a result of sanction than of circumstance; before there were many roads on the Reservation and until many people went to work in the mines or cotton fields, Papago seldom met [186] those of any other dialect group. Even now, though there are many intermixtures of dialect, there is still a strong in-group feeling, and outsiders are teased or ridiculed not only for the difference in their speech but also because 582 of their personal appearance and mannerisms. A bride from a different dialect 591 group coming to her husband's home must anticipate a good deal of such

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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581 Normally Papago marriages run smoothly and are quite stable. Whether the new home is with the groom's or the bride's parents, the other partner does not suffer an abrupt transition from his old home situation. As before, he is expected to work industriously to help earn the family living, to defer to his elders, and to be modest and inconspicuous.

593 885 At first the new couple may be the juniors of all other adults in the family group, and they have a corresponding lack of influence. During the first months of marriage the bride must prove her ability to fit into the family and do her full share of work. There may be some reserve toward her as a person who is not yet fully one of the group, but, with the birth of the first child, her status changes considerably. The chances of her going home to her parents are greatly diminished. The interests of the new mother and the household have now converged in the child, and she is bound to the others by a very tangible and important tie. She goes about her work with a new assurance and no longer stays in the background when there are visitors; instead she will be called on to display the youngest member of the family. There is a new warmth in the voices of family members when they speak of her, and she is more often mentioned and considered rather than simply included because she is present.

The young father's status is also changed, for he is no longer an irresponsible youth but a man with a family. His opinions in household matters are more seriously considered, and he can speak with assurance in discussions among the men. Paternity is not a prerequisite for recognized adulthood among Papago males, but the birth of a child undoubtedly contributes to the dignity of a man's position.

593 Gradually, as they grow older and have more children, the couple will assume more responsibility for family judgments. Ideally they will at last reach the position of being the seniors in the household, with the highest authority.

587 If a man's wife dies, he is likely to remarry. The children may remain with him or may be cared for by his, or his first wife's, parents. If a woman loses her husband, she may continue to live with his family, particularly if she has children, but ordinarily she returns to her parents' home.

586 Naturally, not every marriage is successful, and divorce, usually for incompatibility, is not uncommon. One or both parents may remarry, the children of the first marriage remaining with their mother or being cared for by grandparents, whichever arrangement suits the new couple. In the case of Indian-custom marriages, divorces must be obtained in the tribal court (see chap. vii).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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ribbons she wants and relieve her of work occasionally, so that she may join her friends. However, the domestic labor which she shares with all the women of her household is continuous and confining, and there is little time left for village visiting. Their common effort and well-nigh exclusive companionship results in close bonds of affection between the women. 883

A reputation for proficiency in the household arts helps the girl to make a good marriage. Even today, when marriages are no longer arranged on the basis of suitability to family needs, men look on industry (in the girl and her family) as an exceedingly valuable attribute, and it is a criterion in choosing a wife. 581

Papago girls are far from indifferent to their appearance. Dress and good looks occupy much of their time, thought, and conversation. Many dresses are bought in town, and these serve as models for homemade clothing. Girls wear low-heeled shoes, usually with ankle-length socks after the current fashion in the towns. Those in the western districts, who are nearer to white towns than the eastern girls, use cosmetics generously and wear a profusion of hair ribbons, pins, and other "store" ornaments. Baboquivari girls, though much more acculturated in other respects, are less inclined to imitate the fads of American and Mexican women, but they are not less interested in making a good appearance. 883 291 301

A girl spends most of her leisure time with other girls of her age in the village, usually her cousins. Because young people often live some distance apart and leisure hours may not coincide, the group is usually small. There is a persistent tendency for each girl to seek out one other for close companionship. Some girls make stable and lasting friendships; others shift from one intimate to another. Young girls do not ordinarily stray far from the house cluster, and they often loiter around the ramada where the women of the household are working; here they discuss the latest gossip, make jokes, or plan for some important event. They may entertain themselves with picture magazines, and sometimes they weave baskets together. 883 572

No one anticipates a fiesta with more pleasure than the teen-age girl. If the event takes place in her village, she joins the women in making paper flowers for the church and in preparing food for the guests. No girl goes to a fiesta by herself, and, if the celebration is in another village, she must be accompanied by one of the men of the family as well as by an older woman. Adolescent girls take no part in the religious phase of the celebration except perhaps to carry scarfs or candles in the procession. Dressed in their best, they sit together on the benches around the dance ground with the other women who wish to dance. 883 527

[Text continues on p. 153- Analyst]

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The Thematic Apperception Test, too, reveals similar signs of interpersonal disturbances. The interpretation of its results, without differentiating between the attitudes of boys and girls, states that the establishment of a functional relationship between brothers and sisters may be a point of conflict.[8] But this conflict seems to be only temporary and apparently does not hamper adult adjustment.

Papago boys, who have more opportunity for activities and personal contacts outside the family than their sisters, more frequently mention nonrelatives in connection with happy experiences than do the girls, who connect most such experiences with members of the family, their usual companions.

Very little was learned from the tests about the emotional relationship between boys and girls outside the family. The Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception tests reveal on the average only slight sexual anxiety in adolescent children. In the Emotional Response Test, age mates of opposite sex were not mentioned once in connection with pleasant memories, though there was some mention of them when unpleasant occasions were recalled. Boys and girls, but particularly the former, acknowledged being ashamed (i.e., embarrassed) in front of the other sex, and a few boys admitted getting angry at girls. But this is all we learn.

So far as observations and reports indicate, Papago marriages are normally stable. Fidelity of husband and wife seems to be quietly assumed. Courtship and the selection of partners as they take place at present are little restrained by family authority, except in cases of close relatives, as of first cousins, in which event the match is condemned or at least considered undesirable. Romantic love, however, is not one of the important concepts and values in Papago culture. The emotional value of the relationship between man and woman seems to be viewed almost entirely from the aspect of their adjustment to the Papago ideal of family unity: husband and wife are considered enviably happy if they have many living and healthy children, if they are industrious, and if they co-operate peacefully and harmoniously with each other and with the rest of the family. Mutual loyal attachment apparently is conceived and officially sanctioned as growing out of just this active participation in and adjustment to the physical and spiritual needs of the family group and not as developing from the perpetuation of two people's passion. A marriage based mainly upon these values is likely to remain stable and relatively undisturbed, even when there are extramarital sex relations.

Boys' premarital love affairs are considered natural and may be an occasion for joking and teasing on the part of adult relatives; but, if the affair appears

8. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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562 in fact, the "boss" of the household and gives her husband as well as her child his portion of food. She is systematic, while the man, in whom the characteristics of the hunter still survive, has little or no order. Her vigilant eyes look after everything and she is consulted in all transactions. The dogs follow the woman and be- [522] long to her, the husband rarely speaking to them.

● 581 Sometimes a young man will marry a woman more than old enough to be his mother since, under the changed conditions of the tribe, many of the young fellows do not know how to take care of themselves. He may work for an elderly woman who owns cattle and behave so much to her satisfaction that marriage results, and women have in this way been known to make manly men out of flippant youngsters. The children are treated [855] kindly by the parents and are kind to each other.

584 Formerly a bamboo flute was played by a young [534] man, especially in the evening, to attract the attention of a girl, though the ultimate choice of a partner rested with his father and mother. Up to recent times the sons were obedient to their parents and readily consented to marry the girls picked out for them. A son was instructed how to behave in order to find favor with a nice girl with whom appearances weigh little compared to the noble qualities of being a good hunter, not lazy, and an efficient agriculturist. It is the girl's father who makes the first advances in a matrimonial venture. He talks the matter over with the father of the boy who, however, sometimes may decline. But if the father is able to say that his son is willing, the latter betakes him-